

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

FOR CHARGE ONLY FROM HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2,3

TAGS: CASC, UR, US

SUBJECT: APPROACH TO VOGEL ON PRISONER EXCHANGE

1. SUMMARY. WE HAVE APPROVAL OF CHILEAN GOVERNMENT AND MRS. SHADRIN FOR YOU TO APPROACH VOGEL AND SUGGEST AN EXCHANGE OF SHADRIN PLUS 12 JAILED SOVIET DISSIDENTS FOR 13 IMPRISONED CHILEAN COMMUNISTS.

2. HAVING IN MIND INTEREST VOGEL HAS EXPRESSED IN JORGE MONTES, CORVALAN'S CP DEPUTY NOW IMPRISONED IN CHILE, AND SAKHAROV COMMITTEE EFFORTS TO SET UP NEW EXCHANGE WITH CHILE WE APPROACHED CHILEAN GOVERNMENT WITH REQUEST THAT THEY CONSIDER LETTING US PLAY A ROLE

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IN ANY PROPOSAL THAT THEY MIGHT WANT TO MAKE AND THAT WE BE ALLOWED TO ADD SOMEONE OF INTEREST TO US INTO THE DEAL. CHILEANS HAVE AGREED TO OUR REQUEST, BUT IN MEANTIME THEY HAD ALREADY PASSED NAMES OF THOSE THEY ARE WILLING TO EXCHANGE TO SAKHAROV COMMITTEE WHICH PUBLICIZED OFFER ON APRIL 22. NOT SURPRISINGLY, CHILEANS REPORT THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO SOVIET RESPONSE TO THEIR

OFFER THROUGH SAKHAROV COMMITTEE.

3. ORIGINAL CHILEAN THINKING WAS THAT WE WOULD DEAL

THROUGH DOBRYNIN, EITHER SUPPORTING CHILEAN OFFER OR ASSUMING INTERMEDIARY ROLE AS WE DID IN BUKOVSKY-CORVALAN EXCHANGE. HOWEVER WE HAVE EXPLAINED OUR VIEW THAT AN OFFICIAL APPROACH OF THIS KIND WOULD PROBABLY BE REBUFFED FOR FOLLOWING REASONS:

(A) HANDLING OF BUKOVSKIY-CORVALAN EXCHANGE TOUCHED SENSITIVE SOVIET NERVES.

(B) FACT THAT CHILEAN OFFER WAS PUBLICIZED BY SAKHAROV COMMITTEE AND THEN ON MAY 17 BY CHILEAN GOVERNMENT WOULD LEAD SOVIETS TO BELIEVE THAT OUR INTEREST IS IN PUBLICITY RATHER THAN QUIET NEGOTIATION.

(C) OUR PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO DISCUSS OUR CASE (SHADRIN) IN OFFICIAL CHANNELS HAVE LED NOWHERE.

4. WE HAVE TOLD CHILEANS THAT IN OUR VIEW CHANCES OF MAKING SUCH AN EXCHANGE WORK WOULD BE MAXIMIZED IF WE RAISED PROPOSAL IN AN UNSPECIFIED UNOFFICIAL CHANNELS WE HAVE USED BEFORE IN SIMILAR CASES. WE HAVE MADE THE POINT THAT WE BELIEVE OUR INTERLOCUTOR ON THE OTHER SIDE WILL BE ABLE TO EXPLORE PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN DOBRYNIN AND ADVISE US ON HOW TO PROCEED. WE HAVE INDICATED THAT IF THIS APPROACH FAILS  
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WE COULD STILL RAISE PROPOSAL WITH DOBRYNIN.

5. MRS. SHADRIN AND HER ATTORNEY, RICHARD COPAKEN, HAVE ARGUED STRENUOUSLY AGAINST YOUR MAKING THE APPROACH TO VOGEL ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS WOULD VIOLATE VOGEL'S INSISTENCE THAT SHADRIN CASE BE DEALT WITH EXCLUSIVELY BETWEEN HIMSELF AND COPAKEN. WE HAVE TOLD COPAKEN THAT WE CANNOT AUTHORIZE HIM TO DEAL WITH VOGEL ON BEHALF OF CHILEANS. IN ORDER TO REASSURE HIM THAT SHADRIN'S INTERESTS ARE ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED, WE HAVE AGREED THAT HE SHOULD BE PRESENT AT ALL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN YOU AND VOGEL AND THAT INITIAL APPROACH TO VOGEL WOULD GIVE HIM OPPORTUNITY TO OBJECT TO YOUR PARTICIPATION.

6. UNLESS YOU PERCEIVE OBJECTION, YOU SHOULD CONTACT VOGEL AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE AND PROPOSE MEETING WITH COPAKEN AND YOURSELF ASAP.

7. WHEN YOU FIRST MEET WITH VOGEL YOU SHOULD TELL HIM

THAT YOU WANT TO DISCUSS A PROPOSAL INVOLVING SHADRIN AND OTHERS ON THE ONE HAND AND THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS ON THE OTHER. YOU SHOULD RAISE COPAKEN'S FEARS THAT

YOUR INVOLVEMENT WOULD VIOLATE "GROUND RULES" UNDER WHICH VOGEL IS OPERATING. IF VOGEL STATES THAT YOUR INVOLVEMENT IS A PROBLEM, YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT USG HAS PROBLEMS WITH NEGOTIATING THROUGH AN ATTORNEY REPRESENTING A SINGLE CLIENT BUT THAT YOU ARE PREPARED TO DIVIDE PACKAGE INTO TWO SEGMENTS TO FACILITATE COMMUNICATIONS. COPAKEN SHOULD THEN BE ALLOWED TO NEGOTIATE ON BEHALF OF SHADRIN AND YOU WOULD DISCUSS CHILEAN PROPOSAL.

8. PRESENTATION SHOULD BE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES;

-- USG INTERESTED IN EXPLORING EXCHANGE WHICH WOULD  
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SERVE DUAL PURPOSE OF BRINGING ABOUT REUNITING OF U.S. CITIZEN NICHOLAS SHADRIN WITH HIS FAMILY AND PROMOTING RELEASE OF PRISONERS HELD ON CHARGES WE REGARD AS POLITICAL.

-- WE HAVE OBTAINED AGREEMENT OF CHILEAN GOVERNMENT TO ACT AS INTERMEDIARY IN THEIR OFFER TO EXCHANGE 13 JAILED COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS FOR AN EQUAL NUMBER OF PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE CHILEANS UNDERSTAND THAT WE WILL BE INCLUDING A NAME OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IN THE PACKAGE BUT KNOW NOTHING MORE.

-- INITIAL CHILEAN PROPOSAL WAS MADE THROUGH SAKHAROV COMMITTEE IN COPENHAGEN WHICH ANNOUNCED IT. CHILEAN GOVERNMENT MADE A SIMILAR ANNOUNCEMENT ON MAY 17. HOWEVER WE ARE CONVINCED THAT CHILEANS GENUINELY WANT EXCHANGE TO WORK AND WILL KEEP QUIET IF WE CAN TELL THEM THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE.

-- WE UNDERSTAND NO ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE ON CHILEAN OFFER YET, CHILEANS KNOW WE ARE EXPLORING AN EXCHANGE THROUGH UNOFFICIAL CHANNELS BUT THEY DO NOT KNOW IDENTITIES OF THOSE INVOLVED. WE INTEND TO KEEP OUR CONTACTS WITH VOGEL CONFIDENTIAL.

-- IF IT IS VOGEL'S JUDGEMENT THAT HE CAN GET NOWHERE WITH CHILEAN OFFER WE MAY RAISE IT OFFICIALLY IN WASHINGTON OR MOSCOW BUT WE WOULD NOT RAISE SHADRIN UNLESS VOGEL AND COPAKEN WISH.

-- WE WOULD NOT WANT TO PUBLICIZE SHADRIN ASPECT OF

EXCHANGE BUT CHILEANS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE PUBLIC  
CREDIT FOR THEIR PACKAGE AFTER EXCHANGE COMPLETE.

9. FOLLOWING IS LIST OF PRISONERS CHILEANS ARE  
OFFERING: (NOTE: SINCE CHILEANS HAVE OFFERED TO  
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TRADE JORGE MONTES FOR CUBAN PRISONER MATOS, THEY  
ARE NOT PREPARED TO INCLUDE HIM IN THIS PACKAGE.)

(A) LUIS ARMANDO DURNEY SEPULVEDA. MEMBER OF THE  
CP IN ANTOFAGASTA.

(B) ELBIO ROLANDO YANEZ PELUA. MEMBER OF THE CP  
IN PUNTA ARENAS.

(C) ERICO ADOLFO FIGUEROA ZURITA. MEMBER OF YOUNG  
COMMUNISTS IN VALDIVIA.

(D) RUDECINDO MOLINA LOPEZ. MEMBER OF YOUNG COMMUNISTS  
IN VALDIVIA.

(E) JORGE HECTOR NUNEZ AMPUERO. HEAD OF REGIONAL CP  
COMMITTEE FROM VALDIVIA.

(F) JUAN RUMIE FARIAS. MEMBER OF CP FROM TOCOPILLA.

(G) JACOB AHUMADA CASTRO. CP MEMBER.

(H) LUIS VICTOR HUGO ROJAS AGUIRRE. FORMER GOVERNOR  
OF VALLENAR.

(I) ARMANDO SEGUNDO ALFARO HERRERA. YOUNG COMMUNIST  
FROM ANTOFAGASTA.

(J) LUIS HERMINDO SALGADO REYES. YOUNG COMMUNIST FROM  
VALDIVIA.

(K) LUIS ALBERTO REYES MORALES. YOUNG COMMUNIST FROM  
VALDIVIA.

(L) CARLOS IVAN AROS MANQUE. YOUNG COMMUNIST FROM  
VALDIVIA.

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(M) RENE HECTOR AROS MANQUE. YOUNG COMMUNIST FROM VALDIVIA.

10. FOLLOWING IS LIST OF PRISONERS U.S. AND CHILE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT IN RETURN. (FYI: B, C AND D WERE NAMES SUPPLIED BY CHILEANS; WE HAVE ADDED NAMES E THROUGH M TO LIST TO MAKE 13 AND THEY ARE NEGOTIABLE.)

(A) NICHOLAS GEORGE SHADRIN

(B) VALENTIN MOROZ

(C) YURIY SHUKEVICH

(D) IGOR OGURTSOV

(E) SERGEY KOVALEV

(F) ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKY

(G) YURIY ORLOV

(H) GEORGIY VINS

(I) ALEKSANDR GINZBURG

(J) ANDREY TVERDOKHLEBOV

(K) VASYL ROMANYUK

(L) MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV

(M) MIKOLA RUDENKO

11. YOU SHOULD MAKE IT PLAIN TO VOGEL THAT WE WILL  
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BE PREPARED TO LISTEN TO COUNTER-PROPOSALS BUT NOT TO INDICATE THEIR ACCEPTABILITY WITHOUT CONSULTING CHILE. YOU SHOULD LEAVE IMPRESSION WITHOUT SAYING SO THAT WHILE IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO SETTLE FOR LESS THAN 13 NAMES ON SOVIET LIST OR ADD ADDITIONAL NAMES-- CHILEAN OR OTHER THIRD COUNTRY--TO U.S. LIST, WE WILL NEED SHADRIN PLUS SEVERAL OTHERS TO HAVE A WORKABLE PACKAGE.  
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## Message Attributes

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